## Origin of the Baloch.—By Colonel E. Mockler, Political Agent, Muscat.<sup>1</sup> [Read November 1893.]

Professor Rawlinson derives the name of the "Baloch" from Belus, king of Babylon, who is identified with Nimrod, the son of Cush, and says that "the names of Belus and Cush, thus brought into juxta-"position have remained attached to some portion or other of the region "in question from ancient times to the present day. The country East of Kirman was called Kusem throughout the Sassanian period. The same region is now Beloochistan, the country of the Beloochees or Belus, whilst adjoining it to the East, is Cutch or Kooch." With the name of Cush may be yoked "Kech" (the capital of Makrān), "Kachī" (a province of Baloochistan) and "Cashmere"; and, as the Sindhīs call the Baloch, "Barōc", "Kach and Baroch" (Cutch and Broach of our maps) may be linked together.

The country now called Balochistan was called by the Greeks "Gedrosia" and was inhabited on the seacoast by the "Ichthyophagi" (fish-eaters) and on the North-West by the Paricanii, Utii, Maki and other tribes. One of the tribes or clans now inhabiting it, viz., the Rind tribe (whose name signifies a "turbulent, reckless, daring man")which, it may be noted, has never acknowledged the authority of any ruler in the country, and each individual member of which professes to owe obedience to no one, so that the tribe has no recognised headassert that they originally came from "Alaf," which is supposed by themselves and most other people, I fancy, who have heard their tradition, to be Haleb or Aleppo in Syria. They say that they are Arabs of the tribe of Quraish and were forced to the number of 40,000 to emigrate from "Alaf" by Yazīd I, for having rendered assistance to Husain "the martyr," nephew of the prophet Muhammad, in A. H. There is a popular ballad well-known throughout the whole country to that effect which, however, states that from "Alaf" to Makran

<sup>1 [</sup>This article has not had the benefit of revision by the author. Names of well-known places and tribes are given in the conventional spelling of the maps. Thus Baloch and not Baloc. Ed.]

they travelled between "earth and heaven." The name of not one single place between Aleppo and Makrān, as having been halted at by the 40,000 Rinds who are said to have left "Alaf" in a body is preserved, so far as I am aware, in any tradition in the whole country, although, from the Western border of Makrān itself, from the seacoast to some 150 miles inland, their movements eastwards are minutely recorded in various ballads and oral traditions. These Rinds claim to be the true Baloch, and to one of their ancestors named Jalāl Khān, or rather to one of his sons, whose names are made to suit the exigencies of each clan, the pedigree-makers of almost every clan in Makrān, claiming to be respectable, are pretty certain to trace their clans's descent. Pottinger records the fact that, in his day the Brahuis (who are Dravidian Cushites) claimed descent from the earliest Muhammadan invaders of Persia, by whom the Rinds are doubtless intended.

The Kalmatīs of Kalmat (the Kalama of Arian and others) make a man named Kalmat their ancestor, a Rind, and one of the four sons of Jalāl Khān. Some of the genealogists of the great Hōt or Ōt tribe also, whom I identify with the Utii of the army of Xerxes (though many in the tribe, and most out of it, deny any connection with the Rinds, except in a few families by marriage,) say that a man named Hōt (sometimes called Nōt, sometimes Nōtbandag) was their ancestor, was one of the four sons of Jalāl Khān, and was a Rind. That some families in most of the Baloch clans, in nearly all, perhaps, are related by marriage to the Rinds is quite possible as will hereafter become apparent; but I doubt if very free intermarriage between many clans and them, has at any time been prevalent.

Among the earliest mention of Makrān and the Baloch with which I am acquainted are various passages in the Shāh-nāma of Firdūsī (compiled about A. D. 1000 by command of King Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, who is said to have ordered all available resources to be placed at the disposal of the author) in which it is stated that Kai Khusrū (about B. C. 550) King of Persia passed through Makrān and killed the king of the country, also that Naushīrwān (about A. D. 550) inflicted punishment on the Baloch. Bilāthurī who is said to have died in A. H. 279, mentions that a tribe called the "Qufṣ" aided the people of Kirmān against the Arab marauders.

Ibn Haukal who appears to have written in A. H. 360, and of whose work there are, it is said, only two copies in Europe, writes "to the

"East of Kirmān lies Makrān and the deserts of that country and "Bahrain, on the borders of the Balūj. The mountains of "Qufş "lie on the southern border (of Kirmān) near the sea On the East "is  $\underline{Khawas}$  and the desert extending towards "and on the South is Balūj. The Balūj (this appears to be a "quotation) are in the desert of mount  $\underline{Saluj}$  (this appears to be a "language  $\underline{Kuj}$  or  $\underline{Koj}$ , and they call the two peoples  $\underline{Kuj}$  " $\underline{Kuj}$  or  $\underline{Koj}$  and  $\underline{Koj}$  or  $\underline{Koj}$  and  $\underline{Koj}$  or  $\underline{Koj}$  and  $\underline{Koj}$  and  $\underline{Koj}$  or  $\underline{Koj}$  or

A. H. 22, 'Abdu-l-lāh bin 'Amar bin Rabī invaded Kirmān and took possession of its capital, Kuwāshīr, so that the inhabitants solicited assistance of the men of "Kūj and Balūj" in vain He then after conquering Sīstān overran Makrān and defeated the king of Sindah, who came to assist in opposing him.

It, however, appears from the few authorities quoted that the Baloch were established in Makrān more than a century before the commencement of the Muḥammadan era; certainly so if, as Firdūsī relates, Naushīrwān punished them in Makrān, and still more certainly that they were located there within 22 years after its commencement; and that therefore if the Rinds left Aleppo in the time of Yazīd I, say (A. H. 61), according to their tradition the Baloch were in Makrān before that date.

It appears to me doubtful that the Rinds ever came from Aleppo, or that they are Baloch at all. Had they come from Aleppo, some history of their journey thence, through Persia—some one incident, out of many which must have occurred to them on such a journey—the name of some one place, at least, at which they halted on that journey—would surely have been handed down to posterity. Who then are these Rinds from "Alaf"? Whence this tradition of theirs? And why has a connection with them been at any time considered honorific by the inhabitants of Makrān?

I reply—that, as early as A. H. 15 at any rate, expeditions were inaugurated, and indeed despatched by the Arabs of 'Umān ('Omān) against the frontiers of India, and it is recorded by Tabarī, that Al

Hajjāj, the then governor of Irāk, about A. H. 65, appointed Sa'īd bin Aslam bin Zurā al Kalabī to Makrān and its frontiers, and that he was killed by Mua'wīyah and Muḥammad, the sons of Al Hāriṣ al 'Alāfī, viz., Al Hāriṣ of the 'Alāfī tribe. The pedigree of the founder of the tribe is then given as follows:—

اسم علاف هو ربان بن حلوان بن عمران بن الحاف بن قضاعة

that is to say they were the descendants of a man called 'Alāf who was a descendant in a direct line from a well-known personage named Quzā'a of Kahtanic stock. Sa'īd bin Aslam was opposed by these two brothers (sons of Al Hāriṣ of the 'Alāfī tribe) because he had killed a relation and fellow-countryman of theirs. They had come from 'Umān ('Omān) and after killing Sa'īd they took possession of Makrān.

Subsequently Al Hajjāj appears to have sent a strong force against them, before which, although they are said to have been the victors, they retired, about A. H. 86, into Sindh, where their name is conspicuous in the annals of that country for the next two hundred years or so.

These and many other recorded facts regarding these 'Alafi and their doings, tally so well with the traditions regarding the earliest movements, in Makran, of the Rinds and some few clans, which really were, or had become, more or less closely connected with them (some of whom I believe to have been also Arabs and some others probably foreign to Makrān), give me grounds for expressing a belief that the Rinds are, as they assert, of Arab descent, not indeed a people who emigrated from the town of Alaf = Haleb = Aleppo in Syria, but a people decended from a man named 'Alaf i.e., a tribe called the 'Alafi, of 'Uman ('Omān.) Not Quraish, who are Ishmaelites, but 'Alāfī, who are The Baloch, and the Arabs for that matter, are fond of philological discussions as to the origin and meanings of names, and, given a name, they will certainly find a history and meaning for it; and being some of them Alafi, viz., 'Alafi, or descended from them, their derivation of the name is probably founded on no better authority than their own fancy or that of their ballad makers. The ballad was composed, I believe, within the last 200 years, or less, and the migration from Haleb=Alaf was not improbably suggested by some of the many Makrānīs who have taken service in Mesopotamia and to whom the name of Haleb = Alaf = Aleppo was familiar, and it was a very likely one for them to hit upon.

As regards the status of the Rinds, it will be readily understood, that as the whole of the tribes of Balochistan have adopted the Muhammadan religion, they are not unwilling to be believed to be related to a people of undoubted Arab descent; who were certainly amongst the

first propagandists of their present faith in the country, viz., the Kahtanite 'Alāfī of 'Umān, who now very naturally claim to have belonged to the Quraish, the most honourable tribe amongst Muhammadans. In Elliot's History of India will be found the genealogy of the Jats and Baloch (linked together) from Muhammad, son of Hārūon Mukrānī (Mukrīsnū), a grandson of Muhammad, son of Abān, son of 'Abdu-rraḥmān, son of Hamza, son of 'Abdu-l-mattab. But as Hamza had no sons by any daughter of man, 'Abdu-r-rahman's mother is conveniently stated to have been a fairy (this is their Quraish descent). Muhammad son of Hārūon is said to have had 50 sons, by 7 wives, the name of three of which sons is Jalal (and Makran is said to have been divided between the sons of one of these three Jalals after the death of Al Hajjāj), the sons of his 6th and 7th wives are said to have borne the following names-VI, Fatimah, bore 1 Sher, 2 Koh, 3 Buland, 4 Gurg, 5 Nūru-d-dīn, 6 Ḥasan, 7 Ḥusain, 8 Sulaimān, 9 Ibrāhīm; VII, Eve, bore 1 'Ālam, 2 'Alī, 3 Sarkash, 4 Bahādur, 5 Teghzan, 6 Mubārak, 7 Turk, 8 Zalha, 9 'Arābī, 10 Shirāz, 11 Tāju-d-dīn, 12 Gulistān Barg. Comment on these names appears unnecessary, but I have no doubt that a certain Jalal Khan is a historical personage.

Cākar Khān, a descendant of Jalāl Khān and one of the most renowned chiefs of the Rinds, is positively stated, in the traditions and ballads of the country, to have taken Delhi after leaving Makrān (a statement I will now pass by.) The following is a traditional list of the Rind tribe, which Cākar Khān is said to have left behind him in Makrān, starting on the expedition which then led to that event.

The Rēkī (went to Dehgwarān), the Jaṭ, Lattī (said to be the same as the Kalmatī) Nōhānī, Kurd, Gabōd (or Gabōl), Mahīrī, Askānī, Gādon, Marastānī (stayed in Kolwāh), the Pūzh (in Kōlāñc) the Lāshārī (in Lashār) the Barr, Cānda, Marrī, Lāṅgā, Zahrī, Sasūdi, Kalkalī, Damūnī, Birdī, (same as Gōjah) Gōrgēj, Lōhānī, Siāhpād, Kōs-ag, Lagōr, Balī, Lātik, Bāmanī, Rēganī, Dodāī, Sābikī, Pandaran. These formed part of his following, and having elected to remain behind, afterwards dispersed into different parts of the country. The names in italics, it is sufficiently evident, are not those of Arabs.

The Görgēj were probably Georgians. The Kös-ag and Marrī, judging by their names, were probably Arabs (in the time of the Khalīfa Hashām, A. H. 105–125, Junaid son of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān al Marrī was appointed to the Indian frontier). The Gabōl I believe to be an aboriginal and Cushite tribe, "straight-haired Ethiopians." The Hōt or Ōt have been previously mentioned and identified with the Utii of Herodotus and other authors, who were also, I think, not impossibly the same with the Jaṭs and Zothali and Yucchi (both Jaṭs and Meds are still plentiful in the country).

The Kalmatī are the principal inhabitants of Kalmat and Pasnī. The Lattī are said to be Kalmatī under another name.

The Bulaidī may possibly be descendants of an Arab named Budail, two letters of his name having been transposed in a very common manner; e. g., "aps" for "asp" (horse) "ushtur" for "shutur" (camel) "nīrmōc" for nīmrōc" (half mid-day,) &c., &c. Perhaps such transposition of letters in the present case may be the result of "a proverbial" alliteration of the name of their chief town now called Bulaida, but which may have been first called Budaila i.e., town of Budail, thus "Budaila bulaida," viz., Budaila is "a little town" (bulaida being the diminutive of balda "a town"); compare later on "Balōc badrōc" or "Balōc Gadrōc." Budail of the Bajalī tribe, sent from 'Almān by Al Hajjāj, A. H. 86-96 against Sināh and killed there by the enemy, may have been the founder of "Budaila bulaida," but Budail is a common Arab name.

قفص As before stated Arab historians mention a people called Qufs or کفی Kufij inhabiting mountains to the south of Kirman, called the mountains of قوص Qufs, somewhat to the south-east of which the low-lying country was inhabited by a people called the Balūs or Balūj= Some of the later historians have given Zer Kūj or the Baloch.  $K\bar{o}i$  as the Persian rendering of  $\tilde{c}$  Qufs. As, however, I met, at Sadech, a tribe who believed themselves to be aborigines, of whom there are many in Bashkard to the south of Kirman, whose principal habitat is the mountain range of Gōkō in Bashkard, about 30 miles from the seacoast (the highest range in Balochistan, viz., 7,000 feet) and who call themselves Kufish کفنج, or Kufic کفنی, or Qufs قفص, or Qufs I think that the قفص Qufs of Bilāthurī, Tabarī (who also gives وفعى Kufij), and Ibn Haukal are the correct readings. It is easily seen that if badly written in Arabic characters, would very likely be عفي or تفص copied as کوج and کوج both of which are given as alternative readings, and by 'Abu-l-fida the last explained as the Persian equivalent of the first. I leave it to more competent authority to decide whether Köfish, Köfic, Kufij, Kūs, Kūj or Kōj, Kūi, Kēc, Kōc, Kīj, Kĕj, Kīz, Kish, Cash and Cush, the son of Ham, are simply variations of the same name or not. I would now suggest an identification of the "Paricanii" of Herodotus, with a tribe called the "Purki," the plural of which would be Purkiānii, Paricanīi, i.e., perhaps, "Vehrkan" of the Zend and "Varkān" of ancient Persian. They dwell to the north of Kech in the locality assigned to the Paricanii in our maps, and I submit that the identification of them with the Parikanii (Paricanii) is on etymological grounds preferable to that of the Brahui with the Parikanii, though "Varkan" and "Ba-rohi" may both mean "hillmen," and I take it that (as already suggested by Professor Rawlinson), while the latter are distinctly Cushite, the former are possibly Turanian or probably Iranian, living side by side. The Purki are few in number, believe themselves aboriginal, and claim no connection with the Rinds.

With regard to the name "Baloch" I would also hazard a suggestion which, if it contains an element of truth, some better philolegist than myself may perhaps uphold. It is this-whenever I have enquired of the "Baloch" the meaning of their name, they have invariably replied (as if the expression were proverbial) "Baloc Badroc" (Badrosh in some parts of the country). Bad means "evil," "bad" "ill," and roc or rosh means "day" (rūz is the modern Persian pronunciation). Gad in Pehlevi or Zend (ancient Persian) is equal to and synonymous with bad in Balochi or more modern Persian, therefore Badrōc or Badrōsh or Bādrōs in Balochi is equivalent to Gadrōc or Gadrosh or Gadros of the more ancient Pehlevi or Zend, and to Gadros-ii or Gedros-ii of the Greeks. Badroc, from the interchangability of the liquids "r" and "l", is equivalent to Badloc, out of which the "d" must naturally drop, leaving Baloc equivalent to "the Gedrosii." If the derivation of Balōc from Gadrōc in the manner suggested be considered philologically inadmissible, then we may suppose that the proverbial expression Baloc badrosh was current in the time of the Greeks, only that it was pronounced in those days Baloc gadrosh, and that the Greeks wrote down the epithet for the name, which in such case would undoubtedly have been derived from Belus (or Balochis.) Note that Sistān was called Nimroc "half day."

The suggestions made in the foregoing paper are, I wish it to be understood, tentative suggestions only, put forward, together with the arguments in support of them, in the hope of stimulating enquiry into the earlier history of Balochistan and of the various clans now and in times past inhabiting it (such page in the world's history being at present almost blank) and not as authoritative conclusions. It is probable that my suggestions that the Rinds, Marris, and other clans who now claim to be the "pur sang" of the Baloch, are not Baloch at all, may find many warm dissentients, but it will be necessary at any rate for such dissentients to define whom they call Baloch and give a derivation of the name; to offer a more plausible one than I have ventured on, viz.,  $Bal\bar{o}c = Gadr\bar{o}s$ ; to trace back to Aleppo the Rinds and other clans claiming to have migrated thence; and to explain away the statements of Firdusi and other authors that certain Baloch clans, named by them, and who still exist in the country under the same names, had their habitat in Makrān long before the Muhammadan era-